1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

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turns very light when dry. To straighten a reed, they lash it against a horizontal piece of wood, fastening a weight at one end. Arrowheads are wide taquara splinters, barbed rods (fig. 59, *h*), wooden rods tipped with a sharp point of monkey or deer bones (fig. 59, *e*), and massive, blunt wooden knobs used for birds (fig. 59, *a*, *b*). Some bird arrows are also tipped with four slightly diverging sticks or thorns. In recent years, the hunting and war arrows of the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* have been tipped with duck-bill iron heads (fig. 59, *i*). Feathering is of the arched type (eastern Brazilian). Hunters always carry a ready supply of bone heads, shafts, and feathers to replace lost arrows.

Spears are common among the *Caingang*, who tipped them with iron blades obtained from the Whites (fig. 59, *m*). The *Aweikoma* were extremely skillful in handling these weapons, which they decorated with fire-engraved designs and with basketry coverings.

The clubs of the Paraná *Caingang* are short cylindrical cudgels covered with basketry (fig. 59, *l*); those of the so-called *Botocudo* are more or less tapering, with the cross section often prismatic, thus presenting sharp cutting edges (fig. 59, *k*). They are decorated with fire engravings and with a basketry sheath. The cudgels of the São Paulo *Caingang* have a bulging head and are from 5 to 6 feet long.

Countless stone rings have been found on archeological sites of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. In the 17th century, some tribes of the upper Paraguay River used clubs with stone heads (itaiza), but there is no evidence that these Indians were *Caingang;* it is more likely that they were *Guaraní*.

726

To frustrate attack or pursuit by an enemy, the *Caingang* strewed the paths leading to their camps with caltrops made of sharp bone splinters bound in a bundle with cotton thread and wax. They also dug pitfalls in the bottom of which they placed sharp spears.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

616

Moieties.—The *Caingang* of Palmas have two exogamous, patrilineal moieties, each split into two groups. Baldus (1935, pp. 44–47) does not give the names of the moieties, merely stating that they were called by the word for both "friend" and "two," and that fellow members considered one another cousins. On the other hand, he lists the four subgroups according to their prestige as follows: Votóro, Kadnyerú (Kaferú), Auiky, and Kamé. The reason for this preferential ranking could not be ascertained. Every individual is born into a moiety, but is assigned to one of the subgroups at a mortuary feast by a man or a woman of his own moiety.

Among the *Caingang* of Palmas, the father decided, when he painted a son or a daughter for the first time, to which of the two

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precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path 764
from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it 775
(Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 272).

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community 578
stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his griev- 627
ances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalized brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games.

Feuds between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. 628
When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moity 726 ●
subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second [614]
line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although [411]
no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed.

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly pat- 726
terned. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise 648
attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barbosa, 1912, p. 48).

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by 727
the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies.

REQUESTS

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until 574
able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him 576
with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awelkoena

So Patkíf's wife brought Kuvén back, and one day as he wandered about 628
in the forest he was killed by Wainkó, who had secretly returned and was lying in wait for him. With the murder of his brother, Kumbkó became even more frightened and enraged. He blamed his own sister for luring Kuvén and him to their death. But Wainkó too was miserable, for he was utterly alone. He stole back to live with Patkíf but never dared sleep at the same fire with him for fear that Kumbkó would come and kill him. He would sleep in some hidden place and his wife would come to him in secret at night. At last in desperation he went away, leaving his wife and children with Patkíf and saying, "If Kumbkó does not kill you but comes to live with you, let him bring them [the children] up." This brings to a close the first episode in the story of the killing of Nduichá. His murderers fled, but they came to distrust one another, with the inevitable result at last of more murders and disruption. Throughout the years the companions of Nduichá were content to let his murderers escape, but at last they hunted them down and killed four women and captured two, one of whom they had wounded. They also captured six boys, three of them sons of Kumbkó.

Since Kaingáng economy is built primarily on the occupations of men, a 643
large cooperating male population is a necessary condition of its survival. 726
If the male population is scattered and reduced by feuds, the economic support is destroyed, and if the women are killed the loss of men cannot be compensated. Had the Brazilians known how efficiently the Kaingáng were destroying themselves, they might never have bothered to hire bands of murderers but could have depended on the Kaingáng to do away with themselves. The Brazilians killed many women and children, the death rate that they inflicted on women being about twice that of the men; but since the intratribal Kaingáng feuds also reduced the men, the women were dying off only about 25 percent faster. The population was scattered in two different ways by internal conflict: first through the escape of murderers and second through the sudden flight of whole families terrified by murders. But it was not only internal conflict that scattered the Kaingáng but also aggression from without, for their usual way of protecting themselves was to scatter in all directions when there was danger of attack. They ran away from their ancient enemies the Kaingáng, from the Brazilians, and from each other. Whenever they attacked the Brazilians and feared pursuit they scattered. When the Kaingáng hunted them they scattered, and they themselves say that the reason that they now live so widely separated is "because Kovi killed Nduichá." The Kaingáng have no idea of coming together and forming a solid unit against an outside aggressor. For them there was safety only in wakefulness and flight. Whoever pursues them constantly has them at his mercy, for they become panic-stricken and never turn to face their pursuers until they are brought to bay like hunted animals.

The killing of the women and children by Nduichá's avengers brought 623

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awefkoma

were so incapable of adhering to any such formal scheme that in actual practise this system of *kumbēdn* was almost completely superseded by other interpretations. The insects that were named as having oracular significance for each group were rarely mentioned in practice, and interest was directed toward different insects and ones that had no personal reference. When a funeral pyre was extinguished the Kaingáng came to look at the ashes, and they could tell by the position and condition of an insect how, when, and where one of their number would die. "The *kumbēdn* of one who will die far away is on the edge of the ashes. The head points outward. A death near by is shown by the insect's head pointing inward from the periphery. . . . *Pónkókló* points in the direction in which the man will be bitten by a snake. *It does not tell the name. Nddánwaichudnddán*[28] is lying in the mouth of the *pónkókló*. It showed the biting of Nyepá. 'A big snake will bite Nyepá,' said Konggó. Nyepá's *kumbēdn* was large. It was lying on the periphery of the place where Vádn was burnt. *They make ovyá on these occasions, naming the people, until a big belch comes and tells who it will be.* If one is to be killed with a club by another group of our own people the *kumbēdn* will be intact. The *kumbēdn* of those who are to be killed by Brazilians will have shattered legs, or their heads will be cut off. . . . Another will have cut wings. If someone is to fall the *kónggó* [insect] will be crushed in little pieces. When Patá died the bee showed rumpled and with twisted wings. This shows that the person is going to die while entire [i.e. of sickness]."

Some of the associations in this abbreviated account of *kumbēdn* are clear; others are unknown to me. The significance of the shattered appearance of the *kumbēdn* of the victims of Brazilians and the intact condition of those killed by Indians was rooted in the belief that Brazilians always cut their victims into little pieces while the victims of the Kaingáng were always left whole. The origin of the belief that a crushed insect indicated a fall from a tree is self-evident, while the belief that *pónkókló* foreshadows snake-bite was based on some association of this insect with the snake (*pón*, snake; *kókla*, ceremonial father; hence, the snake's ceremonial father). The association of bees with the line-pattern group arises from a mythological connection between the line people and bees. Bees are the *mang*[29] of the line people, just as the tapir is the *mang* of the dot people.

Kumbēdn was sometimes used in association with *ovégn*, a kind of war ritual intended to make the enemy sleep deeply. Before attacking, the Kaingáng "clean the ground and cut a stick. They take off the bark and scrape the stick. They sink the post and stamp their feet as they hold on

[28] An insect.
[29] Owned animals.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awe'ikoma

724 to it. Then the Brazilians sleep. This is done with the *poimbẽngnggẽ* [tree]. As its fruit fall with the wind, so will men sleep. They sing thus when they make *vavẽgu*:

mẽng nẽ kui ke nyang ve
tiger is
mẽng nẽ klẽgu mbẽgu yõ va tõgu nũ ẽ ya yukẽ[30] *ky*
tiger is animal large trail thereabouts its teeth
kui ke nyang nẽ
mẽng nẽ kui ke nyang nẽ mẽng nẽ kui ke nyang nẽ
tiger is

[This song means that] the tiger waits for the tapir [large animal] on its trail and that they [the Indians] are going to do the same thing. *Yukẽ* means that the tiger seizes animals with its teeth."

There is another song:

nggnivẽ chu yũ chu ke epat kẽ tõgu nũ ke nyang nun va
a rat

which means that "*nggnivẽ*[31] is little, but it seizes birds, and therefore they want to do the same as it does. All the men go and make *vavẽgu*. Then they walk a little way and come back and go to sleep. The next day early the shaman goes and sees the *kumbẽdu* [and says], 'That one will be killed.' His *kumbẽdu* is in his footprints.[32] *Kẽlẽ*[33] or *patẽ*[33] lie dead in the footprint in imitation of death. It is his imitation."

727 *Kõplẽgu*, divining with charcoal, is done in pitch darkness, and while anyone can do it, it requires rapport with the deer spirit. A pyramidal wick-like heap about a half inch high and six inches long is made of the charcoal of pine, cuqueiro, or canela wood, and as it is ignited they cry: "Deer, make *kõplẽgu* with me!" In the darkness they watch the red starlike sparks appear and disappear as the glow travels along the wick very much as a cigarette burns, except that in *kõplẽgu* there is no steady uniform glow but a constant twinkling as the burning proceeds. Then they can tell by the size of the spark and its location what animal will be killed and where it

[30] This is a word which I never come across elsewhere. In no Kaingáng song is the meaning clear from the context, because great liberties are taken with syntax. Very often when interpretations are given, the informants prefix their interpretations with "probably." Some of these are clearly fanciful.

[31] In this song we are faced with a problem similar to that in the first. There is much less evidence for the derivation of any meaning from the verse. The only words that mean anything are *nggnivẽ* and *tõgu nũ*, which means thereabouts.

[32] On the trail.

[33] Insects.